

Heaven and Earth,

Religion and Policy.

OR,
The maine Difference betweene
Religion and Policy.

Written by C. L.



Etiam & Sol.

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TO THE MOST
REVEREND FATHER

in God, RICHARD, *by diuine pro-*
uidence Archbishop of Canterbury,

Primate and Metropolitan of all England,

Chancellor of the vniuersity of Oxford,

and one of his Maiesties most hono-
rable priuie Counsell.

May it please your Grace:

I Humbly present you
this Tract of Religi-
on and Policy, wher-
in I acknowledge
the disproportion be-
tweene the matter
and the manner I
giue it. Yet because it is a seruice of due-
ty, it may therefore please your Grace
to accept it.

The reason of my vndertaking it,
is the duty of Christian conscience,
which bindeth euery man to some pro-

The Epistle

fitable performance. And because God hath not yet beene pleased to giue me particular place of seruice, wherein I might imploy his talent with more aduantage, I (therefore) endeavour my selfe in such trauell wherein God may receiue his part of honour, his seruants their parts of profit, and my selfe the discharge of Christian duetie, all which respects are the lawes & restrictions of euery lawfull worke.

The reason of dedication is the reuerence your Grace doth merit from all them, who professe learning. In which number, though I be the meanest (in respect both of Nature and Fortune) yet beeing bound with others, I (like them) both declare and direct my selfe to your Grace in my labours of best performance.

Again, the fitnes of your place with this argument, doth challenge the dedication, because the execution of your high calling, is a continuall exercise of

Religion

dedicatory

Religion and Religious Policy ; the weapons and provident armour whereby both Church and State are secured from ungodly practise: the which (as your Grace best knoweth) hath bin that murdering gun-shot bent against the truth of Religion , and the peace of Christian States.

For these respects I haue both writ, and giuen this trauell to your Grace, humbly acknowledging my duty , and the meanenesse of my deserving.

Your Graces

In all duty and

humble seruice,

Christopher Leuer.



To the Reader.

IT is the common custome to intreate fauour from courteous Readers : the custome is not good, and therefore I vse it not; for if the matter merit, or the men bee courteous, the sute of fauour will bee easily granted; if otherwise, it is but a needelesse shame to beg a commendation where it is not. And therefore I (willingly) leaue to euery man the liberty of his iudgement, and expose this Tract to general censure.

*Faults escaped are corrected in the
last Page.*

Heaven and Earth,

Religion and Policy.

O R

*The maine difference be-
tweene Religion and Policie,*

O F

*The undivided Nature of
Religion.*

C H A P. I,

THE best Policie is Religion, and the best Religion is not politique, but simple, pure, & without duplicitie. For as the vniting of many persons in one Diuinitie, is the highest vnderstanding

B

of

2 *Heauen and Earth,*

of Gods Nature : so in the seruice of God (Religion) vnitie is the best demonstration of the truth thereof. There is but one way to heauen, because but one Christ in heauen, by whom (and by whom onely) there is happie passage. This holy trauaile is called Religion, in whose practise the choice of Gods creatures exercise their gifts of grace, the induments of Gods sacred spirit.

2 Religion then is the holy exercise of Gods sacred worship, whose precise forme is appointed by God in the witnesse of holy Scripture. It is an exercise for the pleasure, and for continuall practise. It is holy, because God is the object : the forme is precise, for the singularitie, and it is iudged by the Scripture, because they are the best, and the onely witnesses of the will of God.

3 As God is, so is Religion, one, and but one. For as pluralitie of

Gods,

Gods, to pluralitie of Religions is Idolatric. For God being aboue all in euerie sense of dignitie, will haue his seruice speciall, and peculiar to himselfe, by himselfe appointed, and distinguished from all other orders of seruice.

4 The diuers names of Religions, are but names, and not Religions: as the diuers names of Gods were not Gods but Idols. And this is worthie of note, that these fabulous gods of the heathen were all of them (in their kinde) seruants to the most supreme God, the Lord Iehouah. The Planets in their Spheres, the Elements in their Nature, and all heauenly and earthly powers were seruants to the will of God, moouing at his pleasure, who by their motion & influence, did faithfully execute their offices wherunto they were assigned.

5 For there is a sense of Religion

4 *Heauen and Earth,*

in the Nature of all creatures; who (though they want instructions) wil by their naturall instinct apprehend the generall vnderstanding of a God, and according to their discretions, frame such seruice and ceremonies, as may please that supposed Deitie. And from hence doth arise the number of fabulous superstitions and strange Religions, from the blind and vnlearned deuotion of men meerely naturall : who being taught by the wisdom of Nature, there was a God; would by a consequence of Reason conclude there must be a Religion, a seruing of that God: which they not vnderstanding nor able to comprehend without diuine teaching, erred in their blind constructions, and so beleeued and taught that for religion, which was most irreligious and vngodly.

6 Of all the creatures of God on-
ly man hath failed in the knowledge
of

of this high myserie, who though his soule be of a substance most diuine, and his vnderstanding more apprehensiue then many the rest of Gods creatures: yet he (and not they) hath failed in this weightie performance; and they (and not he) haue obserued the law of Nature, which to them is the law of God, and the exercise of their Religion. The heauens cast their influence vpon earth, for the generation of all creatures: the Elements performe their assigned offices, who, though they haue disagreeing Natures (the hot and cold, the moist and drie, interchangeably fighting) yet (in this seruice of their God) they conspire and friendly conioyne, and giue both their natures and substances to continue in the world a succession of liuing creatures. In like maner the rest of Gods creatures, euerie thing in his order and Nature, per-

forming the will of God who made them.

7 The learning of Nature then can teach vs the necessitie, (and the vndiuided Nature) of Religion: For the naturall creatures denie all diuersitie in the order of holy Religion. For in all the Creatures of God (saue man) their Nature is their Religion, against which they are not moued but by violence.

8 Againe, vniformitie in the order of Religion, is confirmed by the sentence of euerie mans iudgement. For though the world be at this day (and euer was) diuided into infinite number of opinions, euerie time, and euerie place of men differing in their opinions of Religion: yet neuer any would defend pluralitie of Religions: euerie man damning all diuersitie to that he himselfe maintained.

9 And therefore it is both the
iudge-

iudgement of Nature, of Sense, and
of Diuinitie, that the true, ancient,
and Catholique Religion, is of the
same nature with God, one, most
absolute and sufficient, which
needeth no second, nei-
ther can admit plu-
ralitie.



Of the diuers natures
of *Policy*.

CHAP. II.

TH E generall name of
Policie (like the dou-
ble face of *Ianus*) respe-
cteth two seueral ob-
iects ; the better hath
regardful eie to honesty, and lawfull
warrant onely, the other beholdeth
all things with indifferent eie, not
respecting lawfulness, but conueni-
ency in euery practise. The better
is the care of good men, the worse
the care of euill men ; the one doth

merite

merite no allowance, the other the best allowance of our fauours; the one deserueth to bee damned, as a violence to the order of goodd gouernement: the other to bee esteemed lawful and most conuenient in a Christian state, being a most godly prouidence, and a strength without which no State can stande in the flourish of prosperous fortune.

2 For a Christian common weale (and a Christian Church also) hath often times very needfull vse of Policie: the which may most lawfully be vsed, the Policie being lawfull and proportionable to the rules of Religion.

For Religion is like the Sunne in the firmament, from which all liuing creatures receiue light & heat; and Policy may bee compared to the Starres, whose borrowed lights serue the necessities of men in many weighty occasions. And as (at night)

the

the Sunne doth leaue vs to the direction of the Starres: so according to the necessitie of time, wee ought to resort to the Policy and directions of wise men; especially then when our directors (like the Starres) order vs not by their owne light, that is, by their owne wisdomes, but after the square of holy Religion; the which like the Sun is the bodie and store-house of all light, that is, of all truth and lawfulnessse.

This is not the common vnderstanding of Policy, which is euer taken in the euill and worse sense: whereby the name of lawfull Policie doth often times receiue much iniury. For the euill shiftings of leaud men are called Policy, not that they are so; but because their euil instruments are commonly men very cautulous, of deepe apprehension and great spirit.

For

For spirit, and the gifts of Nature, (in any one not gracious) cannot be withheld from most dangerous and high attempting: their spirits make them bolde, and their prompt vnderstandings able to trauell with dangerous fortune in the affaires of highest state.

4 The abuse then of euill men, maketh that haue euill name, whose Nature is not euill. For the prouidence of God is a most diuine Policie, and the cares of holy and good men, are likewise politique preuentions: whereby they both lawfully and to good purpose exercise their wisedomes, euer obseruing that their meanes and end whereto the worke be honest and allowable. Against this policie I except not, but commend it rather, as the most necessarie prouidence in the best and wisest sort of people.

5 But from this I must distinguish

guish that common exposition of Policie, vngracious and dishonest contriuements, wherein the great politicians of the world haue proceeded so farre, and with such varietie of precept and example, as would require more time then a mans life to vnderstand them. In which sense the whole world (almost) is become politique, some of euerie place, and of euerie qualitie, coueting to be thought iudicious, and of more then common knowledge in this secret and forbidden Art; wherein it were much better to be ignorant: insomuch as both the base & the ambitious Spirit, trauell alike to be learned in this kinde of policie. And in the meanest and most vnworthy trades, there are many principles of this secret Arte, whereby the base professors (many times) raise themselves, and fortunes to a wonderfull degree of estima-

tion

tion. And this their speedie rising cannot be by honest and allowable meanes; therefore by this Art of Policy, which howsoever they would craftily excuse as the lawfull secret of their trades (by themselves called crafts) yet is that but a craftie cōse-ning of their consciences, and a politique enriching of their crafts.

6 And this is that vnlawfull Policy which in this place I vnderstand: when the subtile wits of craftie men contriue their subtilties, for the better compassing of their vnlawfull purposes, or when men pursue lawfull ends by vnlawfull & dishonest meanes. And this in men of great place, & hie attempting is called Policy. In the baser sort, cōse- nage or craft, the diuers subiects giuing diuers names to that which is of one Nature, wheresoeuer it be; & that is sinne, wickednes, and villany.

7 It is therefore the circumstance

in

in Policie, that maketh the maine difference in the Natures thereof. Policie being iudged good, or bad, according to the working meanes, and not according to event and prosperous fortune; an opinion (not of Religious, but) of damned Policie: For it is not possible that a good cause should produce a bad effect, but it is possible and very common, that euill meanes doe often reach their desired ends, which in the iudgement of prophane Policie is commendable, but in the wisdom of Religion, it is damnable and most vniustifiable.

§ Thus then I diuide this name of Policie, into these disagreeing Natures. Holy, and Prophane. Holy Policie, is that which is iustifiable by the law of God: Prophane is that which respecteth neither Religion, nor honestie; but imbraceth the most base meane, if it may ad-

uantage

uantage the desired end. The better policie is a seruant, the worse is an enemie to the state of holy Religion. The one doth make Religion the leuell of all that purpose where-to lit aymeth, the other maketh it a colourable meanes to reach other ends lesse godly. And these two are in continuall faction, the one offending, the other defending the state of Religion.



Of the contrary workings of Religion and Policy, in respect of the Catholike Church.

CHAP. III.



T is most true, that there is no excellencie on earth, which doth not suffer wrong by the enuie of euill. For though vertue cannot be suppressed by the opposition of vice, yet is it manie times much obscured by so bad a neigh.

neighbourhood : and like the Sun in his eclipse withheld from glorious appearing. And this is naturall in the natures of all euill things, to maligne the prosperitie of goodnesse in what speciall subiect soeuer it be. This may be also a speciall obseruation from the Nature of all things, that whatsoeuer is vertuous, is directed by rules, and by lawfull directions : and whatsoeuer is vicious is not thus directed, but helpeth it selfe by the cunning workings of Policie, and bad practise.

2 For God (in the first creation) made the world, and the infinite varietie of his creatures like a consort of so many conspiring parts : yet hath the curse of sinne interrupted that vniuersall harmonie, whereby the world is now in disagreeing parts and discord.

3 For before that sinne made this alteration in the state of things,

C

there

there was no opposition/ but all things conspired the glory of God; with generall consent and acclamation: and then vertue was not bounded betweene two extremities, neither had good any opposition of euill, there being neither vice, nor euill in the frame of Gods creation. But with sinne hath this opposition entred, and in the fulnesse of time, and not before, it shal be ended.

4. From this first cause is deriued the wicked trade of euill Policie, wherein many men exercise their best and most forcible indeuours with such appetite and pleasure, as if the practise were honest, holy, and meritorious. Neither doe these men trauel lesse in these vanities then the most painfull in their exercise of holinesse and Religion; yet with much vnequall successe, and with much diuers workings.

The maine difference is in their ends,

ends, whereto they direct their labours. Religion respecteth Heaven, Policie the Earth. There is great difference also in their meanes by which they worke, and compasse their ends: the one being tied to a necessitie of iustnesse; the other not limited by any law, taketh libertie vpon all occasions. And to one of these two doe all the vnderstanding men in the world apply themselves, either to Religion, or to Policie, either to be good; or to bee great, in the little number of their dayes here on earth.

And though Gods sacred worship be ordered by most certaine directions from God himself; yet haue men dared to touch this holy Arke with their prophane hands, and to intermeddle their folly with the wildome of God, altering the most allowable formes of holy order, whereby they iudge their Iudge, of

indiscretion, and contradict the spirit and power of him who made them.

6 These vngodly workings are caused by the vaine glorious spirits of men, who affecting popularitie and greatnesse haue not spared to violate the most holy ordinance of God, wherby to aduantage them in their euill ends. For the whole world is a general free-schoole, wherein al Sciences, and euery Art is both taught and learned. The highest learning in this schoole is Diuinitie; the whole number of the professors whereof, make the militant Catholik church, where there is continuall teaching, and liuing in the rules of holy Religion. Against this learning hath the world opposed it selfe: and according to the order of schooles begun their enuie with sophistrie and cunning disputatiō. And this was in the first yerres of the primitiue Church,

the

the which opposition being but weake, yet valiantly resisted gained the Church a greater reputation, though that enimie could neuer yet be silenced.

7 The second attempt against the Catholique Church was persecution; and this was in the time of the Tyrant Emperours, the which was continued with such vehemence and furie, as if the sacred fire of Religion had beene extinguished, and the face of the Catholique Church for euer defaced. These times were like the time of *Ahab* King of Israel, when as *Elias* thought the whole bodie of the Church remained onely in his particular life. A most wonderfull distresse that the most sacred spouse of Christ should for securitie flie to the holy Temples of the holie Ghost, and there take Sanctuarie, & liue in the persons of some few particular men only. It had beene most

wonderfull had not the Lord Iesus himfelfe done more wonderfully, and fuffered a greater extremitie, euen death, and a curfed death vpon the Crosse; euen fo Lord Iesus, becaufe it was thy pleasure. But this extremitie did vanifh with time, and then againe the Church obtained the Garland.

8 But the nature of euill which cannot be fatisfied, would yet again attempt againft the Catholique Church; and whereas before neither perfuafion, nor force could preuaile, the laft & ftrongeft praftife is policie, wherewith thefe euill minifters haue preuailed more, then by all other maner of attempts whatfoeuer. This is that fecret iniurie, who as *K. David* faith, eateth his bread at his table, yet seeketh to deftroy him. For fo doe many of thefe Polititians who liue by the profits of the Church, yet betray the Church and

spoil

spoil her of her highest ornaments.

9 And though I be most far from that damned opinion of Athiesme, that Religion is nothing but a Policie, wherby the libertie of men is restrained from the violence of their natures, yet I am most certainly perswaded, that in the common exercise of Religion may be learned the highest vnderstanding of most dangerous practises. And that the Catholike Church of God, (which in it selfe is most holy and without imputation) hath indured the greatest violence that can be in any men of place and dignity in this holy order, being men least affected to holinesse of life, but most dangerous & deepe practisers in this forbidden Arte of wicked Policie.

10 Neither ought this to hinder the true worth and reputation of Gods Church, that euill men worke their bad designe vnder the

pretence of so sacred a presence. For wee knowe that the very deitie of GOD is not free from mens presumptions : the proud and the ambitious men of the world hauing dared to create manie deities, and many Gods : sometimes the starres sometimes stones, wood, and met- tals, sometimes the figures of beasts, and sometimes (a matter more vile,) themselues a deity worse then beastes: all which though they were most horrible and damned in such as wrought them; yet did not their impieties (any whit) detract from the Maiestie of God, which cannot receiue violence from any mans euill practise.

II So the state of the true Catho- lique Church, though men haue dared to offer iniuries to the most holy orders thereof, to misinterpret & misapplie hir most diuine myste- ries, to intrude among her sacred teachings,

teachings, positions, and doctrines, not onely diuers, but aduerse to her orthodoxall and most ancient true principals : nay to obscure (as much as man may) the verie diuinitie of that mother of vs all, that true Ierusalem, by making the state of that most sacred State, the trauel of Politie, and the exercise of most vngodly designes : yet ought we not for this to condemne or iudge the Church: but euill men, who are the cause of these prophane iniuries, the holy Church being of like diuine nature as Christ Iesus, her most holy husband, whom though his enemies place with theeues and malefactors, yet was he most iust, most innocent, & most meritorious. And though the most precious mettall of Truth be intermingled with drosse, and grosse mettals, yet the Spirit of wisdome can diuide them, and the triall of holy Scriptures (like the
touchstone)

touchstone) will discover all sophistification, & distinguish Truth from Error, and Religion from Policie.

12 Catholique Religion is the base or foundation whereupon the Catholique Church consisteth: the Religious Policie is the supporter of that body of Religion: but politick Religion is an enemy most aduerse, both to Religion & religious Policy. And this is a grounded and a most familiar iudgement to distinguish these different Natures by their denominations. For religious Policy is most lawfull, most conuenient, but politick Religion is most vnlawfull and inconuenient.

13 The necessary vse of Religion in the Catholique Church is not disputable, being a truth of generall grant: for as our naturall bodies cannot liue or moue without our soules, so the sacred bodie of the Church cannot be the liuing Spouse

of Christ, if shee be not inspired and moued by Religion the soule of the Catholique Church, whereby, and wherein euery member of that mysticall bodie doeth moue to his perfection.

14 The lawfull vse of Christian Policie in the Catholike Church, is preuention; for whatsoever is required of a christian to do, is prescribed in the rules of holy Scripture: but the rules of preuventing euill, is rather left to the aduised iudgement of Christian Policy, there being no other rules for that but honesty and lawfull warrant, because of the much variety of mens practises, which require variable and many diuers preuentions. And therefore hath the wisdom of God left this care without rule to the wisdom of men, with this restriction only: that the purpose and meanes of euery worke be conformed to the iudg-

ment

ment of Religion against which there is no excuse or exception.

15 Religion, and Religious Policy then are not onely of conueniency, but of necessity in the Catholique Church. Religion doth direct how we our selues shold do wel; Religious Policy, doth likewise teach vs how to preuent the euill deeds of our owne, and Gods enemies. And these are the two needfull hands (not onely of the Church, but of euery particular holy man in the Church,) whereby good workes are wrought and euil works preuented; and whatsoeuer conspires not with these, conspires against God, against the Catholique Church, and against the lawfull vse of Christian Policy. There is also a policy in the Church, and not of the Church, and this is enemy to the former; the which two (like children of diuers fathers) liue in

one

one house with implacable displeasure; and this is made knowne by his effects; for by his working meanes it is not easily discovered by reason of dissimulation and false pretence, which in this politique regarde is most regarded.

16 This hath precedent in those churches of Christian name, whose integritie is either lost or defaced, and whose discipline is made a mixture of holy and prophane positions, where the pretences and purpose utterly disagree; men shadowing their vngodly ends with most faire and holy intendments. And this is the error of those politique Christian Churches; that whereas there is but one object of all diuine Seruice (which is God) they haue many objects; and many ends, for their directions; making vile purposes to share with God in the exercise of his Seruice.

1117 And from this one ground is the cause of euery inconuenience in Christian Churches, when the glory of God is not principally, but respectuely considered; wherof proceedeth, that canons, ordinances and the decrees of Ecclesiasticall States looke with double eies vpon two feuerall objects, greatnes and goodnesse, the first of choice, the other for conuenience, or necessary circumstance, whereby they would conioyne these in participation, which are most different both in their natures and in the order of Nature. For as the distance betweene Heauen and Earth, so (and much more) is the difference betweene God and this world; Truth and Error, Religion and Policy.

1118 Therefore in the Catholique Church, Religion is of soueraigne necessity. Religious Policy is likewise necessary and of much con-

uenience. But politique Religion
is not onely vnusefull in the Church
of God : but of necessitie to bee
excluded from all holy
exercise.



In respect of the Clergie.

CHAP. IIII.

THe word of God (diuine Scripture) is subiect both to false construction, and misapplicatiō. The church of God is not free from the enemies both of truth and peace: the officers in the holy orders of the Church are not free from their staines and inputations, whereby they debase the dignitie of their reuerend places, and expose their estimation to common reproch; therefore (as in all) so in them also and in their profession, there are these two

diuer-

diuers and disagreeing natures of Religion and Policy.

2 Euery man is bound by his Christian place, to the duetie of Religion; but Clergie men are more strictlie bound, being men of speciall choice, select and dedicate to God and his seruice onely, and therefore is their obligation double, and their condition restrained from that libertie, which either is lawfull, or not so faultie in others as in them.

3 For (as the holy offering, so) these holy offerers, ought to be vnspotted, vnblamed, and vnblemisht, euen the fairest and the best of all Gods creatures, to whom he hath assigned offices of highest estimation; making them mediators to his onely mediator, and corinuall waiters in his presence: by whom he doth conferre his gifts of grace, and the hope of heauen.

4 Such ought all to be (and such

D

are

are many) in this hōly order, whose liues conforme the condition of their calling; who not regarding earthly considerations, fixe their eyes onely on God, attending all occasions to demonstrate their dutie and diligence in their high and chargable calling. For howsoeuer (in the base estimation of most base people,) that reuerend place is disgracefully reputed, because prophane men iudge a holy cause, enuiously, and not deseruingly, yet in true vnderstanding it is much otherwise, they being inferiours to no degree or dignitie on earth; (saue the supreme authoritie of the Prince which representeth the maiestie of God; and (by much,) exceeding al in the worth of their laboures, and in the purpose of their holy busines.

Men of holy order thus affected, are the very mappes of Religion, and Religious Policy, from

whose

whose liues may bee learned what Religion is, whose examples may serue for the rules of holinesse, and for demonstracions, to point out the direct passage to euerlasting happiness.

6 For there is this difference betwene diuine and humane offices; all humane service is tied to attend conueniencie and the opportunitie of times; but diuine seruice hath imployment at all times, and vpon all occasions: and therefore is a strict holinesse of life required in Church-men, because their liues must perswade and teach Religion, that what they deliuer at once in their preaching, they may alwaies example it in their liuing, whereby their diuine office is held in continuall practise, benefiting the Catholique Church at all times, and vpon all occasions.

7 And this is that Religious du-

tie required in men of Religious place, to which strictnes euery man in holy orders is bound of necessitie and more then others: For as in the affaires of earthly state, such as are neereſt the person of their prince in fauour and place, and attend those state offices of highest consideration, doe take that charge and those honours with solemne oth and protestation, to be assured and diligent in the trust commended to them; so in these spirituall affaires of greater consequence, there is no man hath entertainmet in such busines, before hee protest and vowe his continuall and vtmost indeauor, whereby he doth solemnly indent with God, and binde himselfe to the due execution of his Christian office.

8 Religion then in Religious men, is not of conueniencie onely, but of necessitie; necessarie in all

degrees

degrees of men, but of double vse in the Clergie: for (besides the particular profit which redounds to him that is religious,) it gaineth much reuerence, and great authority from generall reputation; and giueth good testimonie of the truth of such doctrine as from such men shall be deliuered. For there is no better way to gaine credit to what we perswade, then by conforming our workes to our words, fetchiing example from our owne liues to confirme our owne doctrine.

9 To be thus affected is the necessary condition of euery pastorall office, whose directions must tend onely (and alway) at the glory of God; without affecting the glory, or the profits of this life: yet may religious men be (lawfully) the owners, both of wealth and dignitie, but with purpose onely to make them serue a more necessary seruice,

and supply the occasions of holy purpose.

10 For God hath made all things for his owne glory; neither doth the hauing of Gods earthly blessings, hinder any in his holy resolution, if he himselte bee holy and resolute. For if his resolution be holy, and his purpose resolute, there is nothing able to remoue such constancie, and then prosperous fortune doth not hinder but forward a Christian resolution. For wealth and the dignity of high place, are the gifts of God, wherewith he doth reward the seruices of men, and therefore good men inioy them of right; but euill men by vsurpation. There is this difference also in the owners of earthly blessings; that good men haue them giuen, but euill men take them, either by force or fraude, the latter sort make them their vtmost desired end whereto they aspire;
the

the former make them seruiceable meanes onely, to attend and forward better purposes. In the better they are but seruants to Religious seruice, in the worse they are instruments of euill Policy.

11 And these prouocations are so powerfull in mans nature, as that euery degree of humane life hath receiued some infection from that poyson: euen the holiest rank of men, whose places are (and euer haue beene) of most reuerend estimation, men of religious name and place, who haue abiurde the vanities of this life, and haue dedicate themselves and their indeauours to God, and godly cares onely, euen many of these men lose their lawfull ayme and shoote at such markes they ought not to leuell at: making Religion but to shaddow Policy, and their good place to countenance their bad practise.

12 This affection in these men is dangerous, and a most desperate inconuenience in many considerable respects. First the seruice of God is thereby preuented. Secondly their pastorall function is neglected, whereby the soules of many thousands are in danger. Thirdly their reuerend profession doth receiue scandall. Fourthly the peace and prosperity of State is interrupted. Lastly the most desperate hazard of their soules, is desperatly ventured: which assuredly must answere all neglect and all colorable practise, in the strict obseruance of their religious office.

13 And though the danger be most certaine, & the threats most terrible, denounced by God himselfe against al offenders in that kind; and though (in respect of their knowledge) they haue best vnderstanding, what the danger is of such offence: yet so strong is vile sinne in mans nature,

that

that these vowed & profest enemies of sinne, are oftentimes vanquished by these meane temptations; and suffer their spirituall courage to bee daunted with base incounter.

14 And this is most wonderfull, that such as know this danger, will notwithstanding run desperately to most assured destruction: damning themselves with their owne consent, and with the iudgement of their owne knowledge. That such as be Gods Embassadours, and beare the message of eternall life; Such as stand in Gods presence to mediate and to make atonement for the sins of many, yet forget themselves in a care of most importance, such as dispose the spirituall fauours of Gods mercy, breathing abundance of grace with their holy teaching, yet themselves barren of all grace, and of all such particular application. The cause of this contrary dispositi-

on

on of name and nature in many of Religious place, is not to be found in the search of reason; being an inscrutable secret in the secret will of God.

15 Such vnfortunate men are they, who hauing vndertaken the most serious of all seruices, (the seruice of the Almighty) binding themselues in a double obligation, their vow of Bâptisme, and the vow of their profession; dare, (and doe) notwithstanding infringe their serious promise, and fall off from the seruice and charge they haue vnder-taken. And such are all they who enter religious place, and assume that reuerend forme, for any by-respect, either of profit or preferment, or for any other cause, then such as may directly conspire the glory of God, and the aduancement of his Church, which is the vtmost end of euery Christian office.

16 Such men doe not proportion the reuerence of their place, neither can merit the recompence of their seruice. But as their name and nature vtterly disagree; so their place and merit shall haue no proportion: for God will discouer their hypocrisie; and iudge them according as they are; and not as they seeme to be: for howsoeuer they beare the name and formes of Religious men, yet haue such nothing of Religion but the name: they themselues being in their purpose wicked, and in their Religion politique.

17 This vnlawfull and wicked Policy in men of Religious name & dedication, is in their purpose, in their practise, and in their preaching: in all which many men offend and declare themselues Politique and not Religious. Policy in the purpose of Clergie men, is either

when

when they compasse those reuerend places by indirect meanes; or when they propose priuate ends, or vngodly purposes. The first sort are all they who intrude themselues into that sacred calling by fauour, friend, insinuation, or base barganing: all which enter vncalled, and therefore want the promise of diuine assistance. The latter sort are such, who vndertake that serious charge (not with purpose to discharge the duty of the place) but onely to glean the profits which from thence arise; whereby they enioy plenty and easie life, wherein they place felicity: and wherewith their base desires are satisfied.

18 Policy in practise, is when men abandon the care of their Religious offices: to trauell in the affaires of politike State: and of this sort there are hot and cold practitioners. The cold are they who continue a

generall

generall estimation of holines, with which mist they blind the common eye, couering their politique designs with the mantle of holinesse & faire pretence. The hot politician Priest shames not to discover himselfe, & his politique intendments; entering the field of disputation, to conclude by argument the lawfulness of his most vnlawfull trade of life. And such are all they, who trauell (not in the consultations of State) but in the plotting, attempting, and finishing of State designs: whereby murders, asasinates, and the most desperate attempts against Christian States, and Christian Gouernors of States, are by them both inuented and attempted.

19 Policy in preaching, is when such labour hath not Religious but Politique ends: and this is either in false doctrine or false purpose. Policy in false doctrine, is when

men

46 *Heauen and Earth,*

men in their preachings maintaine false positions, such as being credited of the vulgar may gaine them their vnlawfull end: whether it be profit, pleasure, reputation, or the enuy of others: all which respects haue had place in the holy seats of Pulpits. And those reuerend places are by euill men thus vsed, because of the great authority they haue to perswade the faith and force of all men. The Policy of false purpose in preaching, is whē men deliuer truth of doctrine, but with false intention, hauing regard to priuate ends more then to publique profiting. And such is that plausible teaching, wherewith the giddy people are wonderfully delighted, when men affect a singularity, & proude themselves in the vanity of popular fauor, with which poison many learned and diligent preachers haue bin tainted.

Religion and Policy. 47

20 All these (and euery one of these) in their kinde faile in the maine execution of their Religious office, whose precise rules lead men to God-ward by direct lines, and not by circular. Thus we see that the waies from God are many, but the way to God is but one ; happy are they who tread that path : for though the world busie it selfe about many things, there is but one thing necessary : that is Religi-
on.

In

*In respect of State.*

CHAP. V.



IT is needefull wee distinguish Heathenish from christian States, because of their disagreeing formes of government. It is needefull also to distinguish christian States, as they are diuided, and to vnderstand such a Christian Common-wealth, as liueth in vnity with the Catholique Church of God, and in the exercise of true Religion: because such a State doth square out her forme of gouernment by religious rules, and

not

not by the iudgement of sense and politique aduice onely; for the States of infidels are directed by politique reason onely; because they respect greatnes without goodnes. The States of Politique Christians, are ordered by the rules both of Religion & Policy, compounding their gouernment of this vnequall mixture: but the States of best Christians, haue onely one director, (who is God) by whose reuealed will they are in euery circumstance of State commanded.

2 And though Religion be the Mistres in euery true Christian State by whose directions the whole gouernment is ordered: yet there is a lawfull and a Christian Policy, which is Hand-maide and faithfull seruant to this Mistres; by whom she is faithfully attended in many needefull considerations: Whatsoever policy (therefore) is

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conforme

conforme to the iudgment of Religion, is not to be iudged an enemy, but a seruant in a Christian State: but if at any time that seruant Policy offend the mistris of the house, which is Religion, Policy then (with *Hagar*) must be banished the house of faith, (and with her cuill fruite) trauell the wildernes.

3 And by this onely rule we may discern all true Christian States from all diuersity, for if Religion be the mistris and command the State, that state is (vndoubtedly) the true forme of Christian gouernment; but if Policy bee either the Mistris and command Religion; (as in heathen States) or that Policy be a fellow wife with Religion as in many Christian States, it is not possible that state can haue true Christian gouernment: For Religion is like God, who can admit no competitor, and though it could, yet where

soueraignty

loueraignty is diuided to two equals, there is continuall occasion of quarrel, and a continuall slaughter of peace. For the confusion of order doth (of necessity) arise from diuersitie of directions.

4 Religion then must in all true Christian states solely command; Policy likewise is to be admitted in Christian States if it be Religious: If not, there is no consideration can make it lawfull; but ought by all possible meanes to be auoyded; as the poyson of a State, and as the capitall enemy to Religion and Religious Policy.

5 But from hence may seeme to rise a doubt of much difficultie; by what speciall rules the lawfulness or vnlawfulness of Policy may be iudged; because that many Christian States vtterly disagree in their iudgment of lawfull Policy, every common-wealth and every kingdome,

defending the lawfullnes of such Politique practise, as is then in profitable vse, whereby the aduancement of their prosperous fortunes, is any way furthered, or the spoyle of their enemies occasioned.

6 To this I answer, that howsoeuer the practises of all times, and of euery people haue had some defence to giue them a coulorable shew of lawfulnessse: and though in our times the most damned politique proiects, haue found friends to excuse them, approving most **damned** conspiracy, in canonising **the** conspirators: yet is such Iudgement respectiue, and not truely deliuered, such being corrupt iudges, who behold these monstrous crimes with fauourable eyes, and sparing iudgement.

7 Therefore to auoyd all partialitie, let the infallible rule of Gods word determine this controuersie.

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Yet even in that there is doubt because of the variable constructions of that sacred authority, every man giving Gods word a sense to his owne liking, whereby the doubt is lesse resolved, and the truth wrapt vp in the folds of much controuerſie. It is therefore the best and the most impartiall iudgement, to iudge every cause by his effect, and these Policies by their ends to which they leuell; for if to goodnes, they will then proportion their Policies to honesty and lawfull warrant: but if to greatnes, or to any other sinister respect, their Policy is euill, and will be apparently iudged by Religious iudgement.

8 There is also this wisdom in the wisdom of Christian States; that howsoeuer the limmes of vnlawfull Policy ought not to haue being in the body of any Christian State, because of the dissimilitude

and aduersenes betweene that and Religious Policy; yet is it most needfull that Christian States be furnished with such choice instruments of State, as may haue vnderstanding in the most secret knowledge of euery State practise, how vnlawful soeuer; for that euill cannot be preuented which is not knowne, and men may safely know that which they may not practise: for euill may be in the knowledge of any man, but it is only in the practise of bad men.

9 Therefore in all consultations of State, Religion must be our Star, from which we must receiue our direction: & by whose iudgement we ought to vnderstand what is conuenient or lawfull, and what is not in a Christian Common-wealth. Religious Policy also hath most needfull employment in Christian States; & therefore the best, & the best able men in kingdomes and States haue that
prouident

prouident care assigned them, being a wisdom aboue the reach of common capacity : wherewith God is pleased, his Church aduanced, kingdomes continued in reputation and greatnes : which without such prouidence would (like vnrepiared building) rotte and ruine in their decaye.

10 But all the trickes of euill Policy (like so many Traytors to God, to his Church, and to all Christian society) ought to bee banished the confines of euery Christian place, and to be excluded the consultations of reuerend & honorable Senators, and to haue place onely in their knowledge, but neuer in their consent and practise.



*In respect of the Prince
or soueraigne of State.*

CHAP. XVI.

The Prince is the Soue-
raigne or principall of e-
uery State : by whom
the lawes haue authori-
ty, and the life of execution. And
therefore these respects are most
considerable in his person : on
whose good or euill disposition
the good or euill fortunes of a king-
dome dependeth. Euery Prince in
his kingdome, being the helme by
which the whole body is moued

and

and inforced to moue as hee is moued. For Princes are the precedents of God in respect of vniuersall power and generall obedience. For as God the King of all the world, doth moueall occasions in the world at his pleasure: altering, translating, and establishing, according to his diuine wisdom: euen so kings here on earth, (the petite resemblances of God:) alter and confirme (at their pleasure) within their own liberty & iurisdiction: bineting their subiects to conformity and generall consent.

And for this cause they are called Gods: because (like God) they haue generall power ouer the States of all their subiects. And as the dignity of a Prince doth worthily challenge a prerogatiue ouer all degrees of men: so in them there is a naturall descent of noblenes and pregnancy of spirit, whereby they are

made

made fit to manage those weighty and great occasions which are common in the care of their government.

3. Therefore in them there is most soueraigne vse of Religion and Religious Policy, without which they cannot discharge the duety of their kingly office to God, supply the necessities of their kingdomes, nor support their kingly reputations. All which necessary seruice hath beene the practise and pleasure of all Religious Kings of former times, & will be in therace of holy Kings for euer.

4. If then I be demanded what is first and principally required in the person of a Prince, I will answere, Religion: if what is next, I will answere, Religion: if I be still further vrged, I would still answere, Religion; for that must be the first, the middle, and the last of all his cares, and that principall whereupon his

kingly

kingly building can onely haue sure foundation.

Religion then is the necessary in the person of euery Christian Prince; all other cares being but seconds and subordinate to this one most absolute: for therefore are kings, Potentates, and Superiours ordained of God, and therefore haue they authority of superintendance ouer multitudes of people (not for themselves or for their owne glory, but) for the seruice of their master and supreme soueraigne, who hath giuen them these dignities for the seruice of holy Church, that by their authority men may be forced to the obedience of holy Religion; and that the disobedience of their people may be reduced vnder a Ciuill and a Christian gouernement: and therefore are Kings and Queenes called the nurse-fathers and mothers of the Catholique Church,

because

because their National Church and euery child of grace in that Church liueth vnder their tuition and their protection : for which they are countable before Gods tribunall.

6 Againe Religion is not onely of necessity in the person of a Prince, but of Religious Politique consequence also ; for that Prince or Potentate who is truely Religious, hath not onely for his recompence the rewards of heauen (which notwithstanding doeth abundantly satisfie more then any mans desert) but also all other temporall blessings doe (of necessity) depend vpon the fortunes of him that is Religious. And therefore peace, plenty, honour, victory, all these, or as much of these as in the wisdom of God is thought conuenient for their happines, are alwaies found in the fortunes of holy Princes : to whom God doeth apply himselfe and the

largenes

largenes of his bounty, when they apply themselves to God, and to the service of Catholique Religion. And this is conforme to that Iudgement of diuinity: *First seeke the kingdome of God, and all other blessings shall be cast upon thee.*

7 As Religion is most necessary, so Religious Policy is much required in the person of a Prince, because euery Christian kingdome consisteth of two States, Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill: the which like a body and a soule are vnited and made one State vnder the gouernment of one absolute Prince. And as the naturall body and soule of a man, liue not by one and the same meanes, though both participate their seuerall blessings: So in the State of Christian kingdomes, the Church is the soule, the State is the body, whereof is compounded a Christian kingdome. And therefore is it a

speciall

speciall wisedome in the discretion of Princes, to order this soule, and this body of State by proper and peculiar directions. For many things are needfull in the Church, which are not in the State, and many things lawful in the State, which are not in the Church, the State hauing (by much) a greater liberty in her directions.

8 For the State then it is needfully required, that the Prince bee Politique, and haue vnderstanding in secrets of most curious search, wherein he must bee moderated by his Christian iudgement, that no vnlawfull Policy enter further then his knowledge, whereby his Kingly reputation should bee stained with vngodly practise. And therefore whatsoever is euill must be onely knowne: and whatsoever is good must be onely practised: especially with Kings, whose seates are aboue

all

all men, because they ought to bee neereſt God in ſanctimonious life, being neereſt him in place : and be-
cauſe, all mens eyes are vpon them,
and euery mans deſire is to faſhion
them.

9 For me to aduiſe a Prince and
to giue directions, would aſſured-
ly be thought preſumption, becauſe
flattery, and feare, haue corrupted
the writings of many men : moſt
men applauding the fortunes of
the preſent times, how vnfortu-
nate ſo euer : and flatering the
Prince vnder whom they liue in
the exerciſe of much vnlawfulnes.
Whereby ſuch writers deny God,
deny their acknowledgement of
Truth : and deny that ſeruice to
their King and Nation, whereby
both King and kingdome might be
benefitted; of which baſe feare I
will euer be innocent. And there-
fore I would boldly declare my

iudgement

iudgement euen in this particular; but that the Christian labour, of a Christian King hath preuented me : whose learned iudgement and kingly experience hath made him better able to aduise (in all such directions) then my selfe, or then any man (I thinke) this day liuing.

10 These things ought a Prince to doe. Now what he ought not to doe, must be considered, which briefly is but this; that his proceedings in the administration of his kingly office, bee not vniustifiable before God and Conscience, that in his consultations of State; and in the exercise of Armes, (wherein ther is ineuitable necessity of Policy, and stratagemes) there be not admitted an vnlimited liberty of all Policie, whereby the cause without the effect, and the effect without the cause is barely considered: but that God may bee still in the eye of all such

busines

business; and that the iudgement of Religion may determine all State consultations, what is, or what is not lawfull in euery worke of State.

II And therefore (of antient it is) that in the State counsells of Christian kingdomes, Religious men, either Arch-bishops, or Bishops haue had, (and haue) precdency in all such honorable assembly of States men, because their iudgements might determine the lawfulness or vnlawfulness of such Policies as in that assembly of Senators were propounded. Therefore in euery action, and in euery consultation of State, wherein there is necessary vse of Policy, it is most needefull that the Prince declare himselfe Religious; and that hee iudge euery practise; and euery Policy by lawfulness and not by conueniency.



*In respect of State Go-
uernours.*

CHAP. VII.

IN this particular of State
Gouernours, it may seeme
that not Religion but Po-
licy is most considerable;
because in their common busines
of State (wherin they haue continu-
all tranell) they commonlie in-
counter with many Politique and
desperate designs in the secret pra-
ctise of their State enemies. Against
which practise, their wisedomes
aduise vpon such Politique preuen-
tions

tions as may best frustrat the euill purpose of their enemies. And therefore it may seeme that the seruice of their place, doth challenge a liberty in the vse of all Policy, being to incounter with polititians, and practises of all Natures.

2 To which I answere, that there is no such necessitie of euill Policy, in these worthy Senators of States, for euill is not to be resisted with euill, but with goodnesse: neither is Religious Policy so defectiue, as to be supplide with vngodly practise, or not of it selfe to furnish the wisdomes of men with sufficient strength against vnlawful attempts and all pestilent contriuements.

3 And therefore (as all men, so) States-men are bound within the limits of honesty and lawfull warrant, beyond which there is no Policy or practise can be lawfull. This strictnes of lawfull Policy, is the

square wherewith euery Religious States-man in the world doth fashion all his Policies ; in which conscionable consideration , there is both pietie , and Policy : pietie in conforming obedience to holy rule ; and Policy, in obseruing such order in their counsels as may make the practise fortunate & assured ; because that God doth euer forward the lawfulness of proceeding , but doth often oppose his power against iniurious and vnlawful Policies.

4 Neither is it of any perswasion, that the great Politicians of the world, not onely practise, but publish vnlawfull Policies, framing arguments of conueniency to conclud against the testimony of God , and Religion , because such men (howsoever of Christian name) were notwithstanding of heathenish iudgement and of diuellish disposition ; in whom & in whose iudgement may

be

be obserued this most grosse error ; that whereas all the trauels of State, are onely seruices done for the State of Religion ; they would haue Religion with all other occasions, serue for the aduancement of State. By which most iniurious & wicked iudgement, they would depose the King to aduance the subiect , and diuorce the wife to marry the maid: but as themselues, so their reason is wicked and senselesse ; for as the soule doth exceede the body in the dignity of their Natures, so doth the Church the State , and so doth Religion Policy.

5 It is also very worthy of note that the antient Romanes , (a people most famous for ciuill gouernement) in the time of their Aristocracie, being gouerned by Consuls and Senators, had (in all their great affaires of State) a precise regard to honesty; and that no dishonourable

practise might euer disgrace the trophy of their victories. And this scruple they were taught by the wisdom of nature, and by their great experience in ciuill gouernment. And therefore in them it was strange and worthy, that hauing no diuine law, but the law of nature (only) to instruct them, yeelded themselves notwithstanding to this obedience, whereto they were not forced, but onely by their owne election. And this their naturall deuotion to the law of nature, may iudge and condemne all dishonourable and dishonest practise in the Christian world.

6 And though the Christian world be full of example which haue deuised and practised proiects of most fearefull remembrance; and though many of these practisers haue beene men of State in Religious States: yet is that of no per-

tuasion

swasion to corrupt the noble and Religious affection of Religious gouvernours of States, because discrete men liue not by example but by rule, for rule is euer constant and certaine, but custome and examples are not, but shift their fashion according to mens diuers dispositions. And therefore such examples are like Sea-markes, which allure not the prouident passengers to approach, but to shunne them rather; and by these euill examples of bad men are good men admonished, and resolved in their honest and godly resolutions.

7 Therefore in the strictnes of conscience, euery Counsellor of State, and euery politique instruction of euery Counsellor is bound with certaine limitations, beyond which they cannot goe without offence. For if the Policy he aduiseeth respect the Church and the State of

Religion; such Policy must either directly, or by necessary consequence intend the glory of God; otherwise the Policy is bad practise, and the Polititian wicked.

8 Againē, if the Counsellor aduise in matter of State and ciuill gouernement, in such aduice there must be charity, lest for some vngodly respect they aduise not the profit, but the calamity of many thousands: such was the Counsell *Rehoboham* had giuen him by his yong polititians.

9 Lastly, if the counsell we giue concerne our enemies; yet there is a mercy euen in that respect: for in euery man of godly disposition, there is a gracious pity which will dissuade (not the dammage, but) the destruction of our enemies. The want of this pity was punished in that diuellish politique counsell of *Hammon*, who because his reuenge

was

was bloody ; had therefore God for his enemy and his destruction.

10 In respect of Gouvernours of State then, Religion and Policy are most considerable : Religion being the utmost end, whereto they direct their lawfull Policies: and good Policy, the meanes whereby their Religious States stand and flourish in prosperous reputation. And vndoubtedly the truth of Christian Religion (in al christian States) may be argued from the obseruation of their State practise ; and from the lawfull proceeding of Politique gouernment.

11 For if the Politique State be found guilty of dishonourable practise ; it layeth an imputation and icalousie on the State of Religion : but if the politique State be iustificable in her proceedings, it argueth the iustnes and truth of the State of Religion : because where the State


is not tempted to euill, which is much more subiect to such temptation; it is of great likely-hood that the Church is vntainted, and in the State of truth and holy discipline.

12 And in this respect hath God beene fauourable to this Nation beyond comparison: hauing giuen it such Soueraignes of State, and State gouernors as no Christian Nation can out-glory it; descending still a succession of both sorts of Gouernors, principals and secondaries; whereby both States of Religion and Religious Policy flourish in this kingdome in their lawfull and Religious exercise.



*Of Subordinate Gouver-
nours in the common
affaires of State.*

CHAP. VIII.

ubordinate Gouvernours in the State, are Iudges, Iustices, and their inferiour officers, who by reason the executions of their offices depend vpon certaine Statutes & State directions, are therefore bound to a strictnes of iustice, from which they rightfully cannot wander, and therefore in the iust discharge of their offices, they haue nothing at their owne election : but

are

are tied by necessity to iudge and determine as the law shal lead them. Therefore in them there is little vse of Policy, because the seruice of their place is execution, and not inuention: to doe as they are directed, and not to direct how to doe. For the wisdom of Policy is direction, but the life of iustice is execution.

2 For as euery action of our bodies receiue directions from the soule how to moue, how to speake, how to worke; & according to such direction is euery action formed: so the subbordinate Magistrate, doth nothing of himselfe but as his superiours direct him, they giuing him rules and proportions to command and restraine him.

3 For the King is the head of euery body Politique; his Counsellors of State, are those diuine faculties in the head: reason, vnderstanding,

iudgement,

iudgement, &c. By whose directions the whole body is ordered and disposed: the instrumentall parts, such as the eies, the hands, the feet, &c. resemble subordinate officers, who administer and execute, as the head directs them. The trunk or bulke of the body is the vulgar, who communicate the profits of the whole body; yet in respect of government, they are meereely passive, having divine and humane lawes, (and their officers) to order them, in every circumstance of their life.

4 Thus ought every body Politique to bee disposed, every difference of degree observing iust proportion, as God, as Nature, and as Order hath disposed them. Therefore in subordinate officers of State, there is a dutie of conformity, which commands them as they command inferiours: whereby the libertie of euill affected men is restrained from

much

much iniurious violence, which authoritie would giue to bloodie, or ambitious Natures.

5 For in men not rightly affected, there is no Heauen, no Hell, no wound of conscience so powerfull to correct and withhold from iniury, as penalty and seuerer law, because they are but doubtfully, but this certainly beleued, and therefore is it a speciall prouidence of State, to limit all subordinate authoritie; and to leaue nothing to libertie and common discretion, wherein would bee disorder and confusion, but to giue authoritie with limits and restrictions commanding both the matter and the manner of euery lawfull proceeding in a Common-wealth.

6 In inferiour magistracie then, there is not that needfull vse of much policy, as in Soueraigne and State authority, a faithfull diligence

being

being principally required in their service to do onely that which they are directed. And this was seriously regarded in the Romane Government, where inferiour officers might doe nothing (not onely not against, but not) without superiour authority, where such neglect was punished with death; euen in them who had deserved nobly.

7 Religion and Conscience then is principally and solely required in such magistracie, the which durie in them discharged, where in all controuersies of titles, or executions of iustice, the true end and purpose of euery law is barely considered; no partiall regard had to friend, or friendly fauours, whereby the sentence and iudgement of lawes may destroy their iustice, and sincerity.

8 And from whence do arise infinite of inconueniencies, the greatest

enemies

enemies of peace and iustice, the calamitie of a Christian State, and the distroyers of many wealthy States; all which euils would be auoyded, if law-controuerfies were decided without friuolous protractions, and and with a conscionable vnderstanding of the law, the reuerend sages of the law, deliuering the true sense of euery Statute, and the true worth of euery title, with single eye and without partiall affection: whereby the swarmes of contentious wranglers, might want argument of strife, and imploy their paines in more conscionable seruices; and whereby the Common-wealth should not want the profitable employment of honest and painefull men in their callings; who often times lose their whole estate by attending the law defence of some litle parte thereof. Therefore in these officers and in this authoritie there is most neede-

full

full vse of conscience; and that no Policy but onely Religion may giue them and their place direction.

9 This is the common duty, but not the common practise of subordinate officers, who (notwithstanding their little vse of Policy, yet) many times vse Policy, and bad Policy more then conscience and Religion: whereby the reuerend and worthy place it selfe, is held in iea-lousie; and the common reputation disgraced, by the base vsage of some particulars.

10 But it were a bad argument, to conclude against a generall profession by particular instance, or condemne the abused, because of the abusers; for among all degrees of men, and in euery place and profession there are euer some guilty of dishonest, and vngodly practise. If Christ chuse twelue, there is on'di-

uell, and therefore in our elections among twenty there may be twelue diuels. And vndoubtedly it is no wrong to report, that in all estates, degrees, and professions of men, the worse part is by much the greater: for as the way to Heauen, so the way to honesty and vpright dealing is hard, and the passage narrow, and fewe there be that enter that path; but most happie are they whosoever they bee, who refuse to be vnfaithfull, despising the vanities of this life, because their hope and confidence doth repose in the trust of Gods providence.

II Whosoever then hath place in these subordinate affaires of State, (whether it be in the course of law or in the course of common iustice) if he decline from the rules of equity and honest proceeding, his practise is but Policy, and the vse he maketh of Law is most vnlawfull;

for

for howsoever it is but reasonable that the profits of every mans place, (that hath imployment in the State) should support him, and gaine him such proportion of maintenance as the countenance of his place requireth; yet he that applieth the service of his place, to his owne profitable uses (onely) is most vniustifiable in the iudgement of conscience, because he faileth in the maine purpose of his calling, which is the common good and not his owne good; the prosperity of State, and not the thriving of his owne state.

12 And herehence it is, that such as by these meanes raise their base beginning to an extraordinary degree of fortune, haue their conscionable dealing much suspected; because the lawfull profits of their place, cannot so speedily nor so highly raise them. And therefore let every man in such place be assured,

that as the conscionable discharge of his office is a matter of high merit, a Religious care, and a seruice very gratefull in the eyes of God: so to be withdrawne with the perswasion of any by-respect, from the true purpose of his office, is a practise of euill Policy, whereof the seruice of his place hath no need, and whereof hee ought to bee altogether ignorant.

13 And let no man encourage himselfe in these vanities with the hope of prosperous fortune, or with the loue he hath to the glory & profits of this life. For at the instant of dying, al the profits and al the pleasures in the world cannot giue a man that comfortable farewell, as al such haue who die with the witnes of good conscience: for good conscience sweetneth the sorrowes of death, & maketh the pangs of death pleasurable: whereas oftentimes the

hauing

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hauing of much causeth the loue of
much, & a loathnes and extream sor-
row to leaue our heaped pleasures.
And therefore in the discharge of e-
uery duty, let a man loue con-
science rather then pro-
fit, and Religion ra-
ther then Po-
licie.



*In respect
of Honour, { Military,
 { Courtly.*

CHAP. IX.



HE names of Honour are the rewards of vertuous deedes, or the gifts of princely fauour. They are giuen men for distinction, that by them may be knowne who are gracious, vertuous, or of honorable merit. And therefore do all men greatly desire these titles of honour, because they giue men speciall reputation; and perswade the world that

such

such honours could not bee had without speciall deseruing. And among the honourable there are none more noble then such, as aspire the degrees of honour by the steps of vertuous reputation : because they persue (not the name but) the nature of honourable action, hazarding themselues (thorow many dangers and difficulties) to attain so faire a name.

2 And this was the cause that in the old world the most forward and valiant spirits (howsoeuer of noble or princely birth) thought themselves dishonourable and but of common worth, before they wonne their honorable name by some braue aduenture; neither would those times inuest men with dignities of honor, that were not either braue in action, or graue in consultation, either Senators or Souldiers; because such men are the onely weapons and ar-

mour of a kingdome, whereby the enemy is both resisted, preuented, and vanquished.

3 And as those times, so these times make it the generall ayme whereto they leuell al their honors: though there is no King or State but doth often misse in many particulars. And therefore in respect the Nobility are of best estimation, and commonly of best merit, these respects of Religion and Policy are very considerable in them, their affection to good or bad, being of great consequence in a kingdome, hauing authority and interest in the hearts and estates of many.

4 If we should reduce to memory the honourable and famous men of former times, and should number vp their memorable victories, what charge, what care, and what trauel they haue spent for the honor of Christendome and the Christian

Religion :

Religion: it will appeare that neuer any had better zeale to fight Gods quarrell then they, many of them vowing the whole seruice of their liues to those holy warres, the which they maintained with so much resolution and valour, that their renowne is (like their happines) eternall.

5 Againe, if we search the records of time and inquire after the most worthy and famous Stats-men, we shall finde their names in the ranke of honourable personages, who in their counsell chambers, haue preuented conspiracies, and overthrowne huge Armies of resolu'd enemies. For (besides their gifts of Nature,) they are extraordinarily fitted for these affaires, by speciall and painefull education.

6 And therefore the great Empires of all times haue had care to elect such choice particulars from

among

among their nobility as were of best sufficiency; vpon whose wisedomes the strength and State of the whole Empire reposed. Such was *Vlysses*, among the Gēkes, and *Quintus Fabius*, among the Romans: & such hath our Nation had, (and yet hath) many vpon whose vigilancie, and trust, the affaires of greatest State do principally depend.

7 To vnderstand these titles of honour I will distinguish them: They are either deriued, or giuen; deriued honours are such as descend by inheritance in a succession of vntainted blood. Honor by gift, is when any one for his honorable deseruing hath such command or place giuen him, as for his owne, life makes him of honorable estimation: the which honour, though it descend not (like the former) to posterity, yet is it of very noble deseruing, and doth conclude the worthinesse of him

him so honored.

§ There is an honour also without name, vnknowne and vnregarded; which (being hid in the darknes of aduersity and poore fortune) cannot appeare to knowledge, nor raise it selfe to deserued dignity. For in many men who haue the formes of basenes and contemptible fortune, there is a braue and noble disposition, whereby they are fitted for all honourable exercise: the which though it want the employment of honorable action, whereby their worth would be both knowne and honoured, yet there is no power of fortune can depresse their generous spirits, or disgrace them in their owne vnderstandings.

¶ And therefore some are honored by nature & not fortune, as these poore ones; some are honored by Fortune and not Nature, as many rich ones: and some are honoured

both

both by Nature and Fortune, and such are both good and gracious in the eye of the world.

10 To consider then how these import this purpose of Religion and Policy, we must againe diuide the degrees of honor into Militarie and Courtly, because their diuers imployments haue great dissimilitude. And first for military honour, the which in the Christian world hath had such noble exercise, as that the prosperitie of Religion may seeme to haue marcht vnder the hope of their victorious colours.

11 And this is euident in the view of former times when Religious zeale did incense the noble spirits of generous and braue gentlemen, to spend both their substance and liues in the seruice of Religious warres, against all the prophane enemies of the name of Iesus both

Turke, and euery other mis-belceuer, by whose victorious hands the enemies of God were kept back from the spoile they intended on Christian Religion.

12 And among these many, may be specially remembred, such as by speciall obligation, did binde themselves to intend these holy warres onely, and such were those knights of Rodes, of Malta, and Ierusalem, and others: who notwithstanding their knowledge (in the true sense of Religon) did wander from the line of Truth in many particulars; yet in respect of their maine execution they were very noble and worthy personages, and such as haue well deserued an honorable remembrance.

13 Besides these profest Religious warriours, were there many others of honorable name: whose valours haue wonne much honour in the

Christian

Christian warres.: many of them (and some of this Nation) out-truding the barbarous and prophane people from the holie land, made famous by the birth and temporall life of *Christ Iesus*. To reckon vp the particulars, either of their names, or of their noble deeds (in this kind) would require much labour and large circumstance, the which I carefully auoide; because they are already made famous in writings of much more learned sufficiencie.

14 These and such as these who haue (for Religious respect only) entered these quarels and exercised their valours, for the aduancement of Catholique Religion only, without all priuate direction to any by-respect whatsoeuer, haue beene moued and ordered in their honorable attempts by Religion, and not by Policy, because they intended (not their priuate but the generall

care

care of Christendome.

15 But if I should strictly examine the poceedings of these latter times, and make curious search of euery cause and purpose of our Christian wars, it may be doubted that not Religion but Policy doth both occasion, & direct many of them: and that not the good of Religion, but the greatnes of Empire is principally regarded, Religion being onely a pretended cause, whereupon to ground some colorable excuse, to make such practise seeme honest and commendable, which in truth is dishonest, and not allowable.

16 Therefore in euery honorable exercise of armes among Christians there must be a iust and no pretended cause to moue offence: for he that laboureth to colour his purpose, doth thereby conclude his owne guilt, and the vnlawfulness of his practise, which if it were honest

would

would not neede any false colour to make it seeme so, for Truth and lawfull proceeding are iustificable of themselves, neither doth Truth euer maske her face, or shame at her open apperance. Therefore all such colourable practise is not warranted by Religion, neither doth it labour Religious cause; but by Politique meanes it reacheth and principally intendeth a Politique end.

17 In respect also of Courtly honour, are these respects of Religion and Policy, of much consequence; because the most honourable in Princes Courts, haue the highest cares in Common-wealths, and because they are neere the person of the Prince, who commonly is either better or worse, according as his honourable company is affected. For the best indowments of Nature are many times corrupted by society, which hath a greater power of per-

swasion,

swasion, then instruction or argument: therefore is it most needfull that the honourable in Courts fashion the whole passage of their liues by Religious rules, and shunne all dishonourable and dishonest contriuements: because of their neere familiarity with the Prince, by whom he is aduised, ordered, and exempld.

18 And such (no doubt) there are many, in many Princes Courts who proportion all their proceedings by wisdom and Religious iudgement: serving God and their Nation in the conscionable discharge of their high offices; and bettering the disposition of their Prince, by their vertuous examples, which prouoke a Princely minde to imitation, that cannot bee better taught then by example. And these honourable paterns are most worthy, and most Religious, who

double the recompence of their reward, being obedient in so high a calling.

19 There are commonly in all Courts, others of much diuers nature, who when they haue obtained those names of honour, disproportion their practise to their honorable names, prouing not onely vile and base in the vngodly behaviour of their life: but very pestilent to their Nation, and a very poison to their Prince, by whom he is withheld from godly purposes and flattered in vice and misdemeanors.

20 And such are those Court-parasits, who feede their Princes appetite with variety of euil, applying the command of his regall authority, either to his or their owne vngodly purposes; whereof all times haue example, and whereof this kingdome hath had a wofull experience. And these howsoeuer they

attaine

attaine the names of honour, and
liue in the number and fellowship
of Christians, yet the exercise of
their life is base and most ignoble;
and their Religion is nothing but a
wicked trade of damned Policy.

21 Therefore, (as in all other af-
fares) so in all honourable affaires,
there is a duety of holines, which li-
mits euery passage of their life,
which (being obserued) it giueth a
gracious lustre to their nobility, and
maketh them honourable in the
presence of God, and to liue in the
ranke of his seruants, (then which
there cannot be a greater honour.)

But whosoever shall disgrace or de-
spise this duety of conscience,

God will repute him

base, and disgrace

the glory of

his nobi-

lie.



*Of Religion and Policy
in respect of prosperous
Fortune.*

CHAR. X.



Prosperous Fortune is in euery mans care, because all men trauell to attaine such Fortune, wherein they place prosperity. And from hence may be considered the wonderfull varietie of mens pleasure, from the variety of their desired fortunes, euery man coueting content, but with much disagree-

ment

ment in their election, inſomuch as that which is painefully ſought by one, is carefully auoided of another, and that which is hatefull to one, is to another moſt delightfull.

2 And this doth not onely happen in the diuers Natures of good and euill, but both good and euill haue this variety in their delights: Euery vertuous man preferring the exerciſe of ſome one vertue before all other (wherto his Nature is moſt inclinable) and euery vitious man, preferring (in his choice election) ſome particular vice, more then other, wherto his ſenſuall appetite is moſt affected.

3 This variety doth reduce it ſelf to theſe two beginnings: either to good or euill; and therefore though the particulars very much diſagree, yet in their generall ayme, they all direct themſelues to one of theſe two ends, Vertue or vice, Re-

ligion or Policie.

4 And here hence it is that every man (in the purpose of his life) is either good or bad, framing the whole disposition of his life, according to his election of these two ends. For in men well affected, their consents neuer yeelde to any vngodly practise, though the infirmity of their Nature force them to much vnlawfulness; and therefore though they doe euill, it is not of choice, but of infirmity. But of the contrary, men resolu'd in euill, inlarge the corruption of their Nature, giuing both wil and desire to forward & assist them in their vnlawful delights. In the former there is a sense of sorrow, and a desire of amendment, caused by the perswasion of conscience: in the latter there is no remorse, though the conscience both iudge and condemne, and therefore they refuse to apprehend the know-

ledge

ledge of their owne misery, & silence
their offended consciences, which
wold both correct & reforme them.

Thus (in their severall kindes)
are men affected: the good ever
good in their intention; though
they faile in many particulars of
their life: the bad ever bad both in
act and purpose. And to one of
these two doeth every man con-
forme his life; either to vertue or
vice; either to Religion or Politie;
for this distinction is in all estates of
men, and in every quality and pro-
fession of people, from the Monarch
to the meanest of all men; every
man (in his estate and degree) pres-
sing to one of these two ends, the
which he aspieth with strong pur-
pose, and with all forceable indea-
uour.

6 And because that prosperous
fortune doth seeme to be the vtmost
end of every badde mans practise;

therefore

H 4

therefore

therefore is it of moment to consider the diuers natures of Religion and Policy in men of prosperous Fortune: for it is not of necessarie consequence, that because euill men affect onely the prosperitie of this life; therefore prosperous Fortune is altogether to be despised or neglected, and to be altogether out of the cares of good men; for good men may care for that which euill men care for, but they may not (like euill men) care onely for that, but that God may be the main purpose of all their cares; and that all other things bee onely so farre forth cared for, as may administer to a mans Christian necessity.

-117 If I should descend to particulars, and examine the severall degrees of men, their estates, their offices, or whatsoever advancement of their fortunes: If I should search the secrets of Arts, of

Trades

Religion and Policy. A 2105

Trades and mechanicall labours, whereby base and small beginnings swell to a monstrous largeness. If I should inquire after all the meanes of advancement and binde my selfe to declare the lawfulness, and y lawfulness of euery particular, I should (not only) weary my self with much busines, but offend the well disposed with the knowledge of much misery. Therefore I will sparingly deliuer my iudgement in this large theme: being rather content to offend my selfe with silence, then others with vnprofitable knowledge. (which men and women) A prosperous fortune, if by honest and allowable meanes obtained and with regardful moderation spent and vsed, is a blessing from the hands of God, which hath some little resemblance to eternall happiness, though in comparison of being worth there is no proportion. But

if temporall blessings bee either vnjustly gotte, or vngodly spent; they then nothing benefit their owners, but are seruants of their shame, and earnest causers of euerlasting torment.

¶ 9 With this vnderstanding may men of all degrees iudge themselves and examine the particular of their owne Fortunes. For the seuerity of conscience giueth no dispensation or libertie to any one, but with one and the same eye beholdeth all men, and euery action of euery man, without all personall respect. The Prince (whom men dare not iudge) is iudged by conscience; and the meanest and most dejected (whom men despise) is regarded of conscience; there being but one law of conscience for all sorts of men.

¶ 10 And by this iudgement are men taught to know themselves, and to haue true vnderstanding of their

their estates, whereby they may know their present condition, and (thereafter) either hope or feare the euent of future times. This iudgement also can best determine the difference of Religion and Policie in prosperous fortunes; their lawfulness or not, and whether Religion or Policie hath had preheminence, in the getting, or in the dispending of our fortunes.

II For it is needefully required in the fortunes of euery good man, that he both purchase lawfully, and spend honestly: for men may not challenge interest in any part of Gods blessings without some maner of desert: neither (when he hath the) may he vse them at his pleasure, but so dispose them as the great Master of all hath commanded; because men of great fortune are but Gods officers, to whose trust hee hath pleased to commit the imploy-

ment

ment of some part of his benefits.

12 Therefore both in the winning and wearing of temporall blessings, there is a dutie of conscience, which bindeth all degrees of men, with impartiall and like seueritie. The Prince may not ariue his soueraignetie either by power or Policy; if he haue not iust cause and rightfull claime. Great men ought not purchase honourable name with dishonest action; but rather winne the garland of honor by their noble deseruing. The rich ought not to pursue the possession of wealth with such vehemenec and strong appetite, imbracing the exercise of euery sinne that may aduantage, but rather to possesse wealth with feare, because that God will require at their hands a iust discharge of their stewardship: and so in euery other degree of fortune, there is a lawfull proceeding to be regarded; whereby may bee

knowne;

knowne; whether men aspire their prosperous fortunes by good or euill meanes, by Religion, or by Policie.

13. The like care is required in the disposing of temporal blessings; that such (to whom God shall please to giue them) may so imploy them, as that Gods husbandry be not idle, but in profitable imploiment: & that seeing God hath made them Stewards & ouerseeres in the world (which is Gods house) and hath giuen them place and authoritie ouer the rest of their fellow seruants, it is most reasonable that they spend Gods gift, to Gods glory, and like men faithful & prouident, supply to all such Christian necessities, as may any way distresse their fellow seruants; lest otherwise the Master of the family (God) call them to a rekoning, and so both depriue & discharge them.

14. And let all men remember, how great, how rich, or how noble

ble focuer they be that it is better to be good then to be great : and that holy men (how poore focuer) haue a higher place in Gods fauour, then the most mighty on earth (if they be not holy) for these are but stewards and seruants, but the other are children and inheritors of the kingdome of God, for whose sakes the world is made rich with temporall blessings.

15 Let them remember also that if God giue them the blessings of his hands, honour, riches, prosperity, &c. he hath also giuen them duties, and lawfull imployment for their gifts, of which they must bee carefull, and onely carefull; auoyding both improfitable and dishonest expence.

16 But (before all) let them most carefully remember; that God is a father of many children, and that his sonnes and daughters here (in
his

his earthly house) passe their time thorow many difficulties, and many hard extremities, and that God hath made the noble, and the rich his officers and household servants, to distribute his temporall blessings in conuenient proportion to all, but especially to the children of Faith: and therefore how detestable to God, would their negligence bee, who seeing the children of God indure the extremities of hard Fortune, & (sometimes) the very cause of God (Religion) disgracefully reputed, are notwithstanding content to be lookers on, and rather to loade the burthen of their miseries, then any way to supporte or ease them: whereby the true owners are depriued the benefit of their owne, and whereby the Treasurers of Gods wealth purchase to themselves a greeuous damnation, debasing and impouerishing the sons and daugh-

ters of God, to raise and enrich their
owne bastards, (that is, their wicked
and base affections.)

Therefore in all the degrees of
prosperous fortune there is a dutie
of conscience, which bindeth all men
to God in strict obligation; the which
bond whosoever shall forget, doth
dangerously hazard the destruction
of his soule, and doth declare a-
gainst himselfe that he is not
Religious, but meere-
ly Politique.

(***)



The Conclusion.



I H V S I haue (ac-
cording to my vn-
derstanding) deli-
uered the true na-
tures of Religion
and Policy, how
they may, (& how they neuer can)
conspire in any one particular;
which is onely then, when they
meete in the line of Truth, and both
of them intend one purpose in their
passage. For lawfull and vnlawfull
practises, are like Heauen and Earth,
betweene which there is an im-

I

menſe

menſe ſpace, and a moſt full oppoſition of Nature. For neither can the Heauens and the Earth ioyne their ſubſtance before the generall deſtruction of the world: neither can Religion and vnlawfull Policy, conſpire friendly in any one act, but where there is a deſtruction of truth and a perſecution of orderly proceeding. But (like the enmity of fire and water) theſe enemies Religion and Policy, quarrell whereſoeuer they meete, and triumph in the ſpoyle of one another.

This knowledge I haue thought good to publiſh to euery mans vnderſtanding, becauſe of the generall abuſe of lawfull Policy, growne common in the traffick of moſt baſe imployments, men of all ſort and of euery diſpoſition of Nature (ſaue the beſt) making vnlawfull Policies the ſteppes of their reputation; whereby they aſcend the dignitie of

high

high place, and prosperous Fortune, and whereby they vse those temporall blessings of God to most vngodly purpose, euen to the dishonour of God who gaue them, and to the disgrace of Religion, (Gods cause) and the Religious (Gods children) to whom all the gifts both of Grace and Nature doe (most properly) belong.

I haue forborne to giue particular disgrace to any man, or to any profession of men, because I would not offend, but rather admonish and remember all men what that duety is, which is almost forgot to be a duty: for to make particular application is not my office, but the office of conscience, which hath a greater authority; and doth perswade and preuaile in euery mans affections, that hath the least-indument of grace. To whom I onely direct my selfe in this charitable office:

and for whose good (my Christian
name) shall euer make me a seruant,
which hath made mee enemy to
godlesse and wicked people, and
to their vnlawfull and
damned Po-
licies.

FINIS.



Errata.

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